

## **Sabyasachi Panda's Letter and CPI Maoist Politburo Response**

The full letter containing Sabyasachi Panda's accusations against the CPI(Maoist) leadership is not available on-line but some extracts have been reported in the news media. This criticism is presented below along with the press release issued by the CPI(Maoist) expelling him.

### **Extracts from Sabyasachi Panda's Letter**

Panda, 43, wrote two letters on June 1 to CPI(Maoist) general secretary Muppala Laxaman Rao alias Ganapathy, politburo members Prashant Bose alias Sumit, Narayan Sanyal alias Vijay, and other Maoist cadres. It is not clear if they reached their intended recipients.

“As I have not got proper democracy to discuss or write the political opinion... and as there is no scope for an immediate solution of our long-standing problems, I would like to write this,” Panda said in the letters, running into 39 pages and accessed by The Indian Express. Excerpts:

#### **Replication**

“People in Bihar may need one armed organisation in their struggle to face armed gangs of landlords. But for riot-affected people of Orissa or for the people of Lalgarh, we should not copy the form of organisation and form of struggle mechanically as per our subjective wishes... One democratic revolution cannot end all types of small and big exploitations from any society.”

#### **Senseless violence**

“When everybody is carrying mobiles in hand, we can't influence people by blasting towers everyday. From 2000 up to now I have been witnessing so many unnecessary annihilations in Orissa... We can stamp anybody as an informer and kill him with our gunpowder without responsibility to convince the people for our action! This is our revolutionary birthright.

“...Jagabandhu Majhi [BJD MLA] was annihilated in 2011 by Chhattisgarh comrades. He was a person who had been moving in a wheelchair, a handicapped person. He had been threatened by our people for two years. Out of fear, he contacted me and wanted to surrender. Simply he was killed... Just after the unification of the erstwhile People's War and the MCC, the comrades of the erstwhile MCC annihilated five or six villagers in Jujumara [Orissa]. The cause of annihilation was just like our all-time formal statements that they are informers.

“In 2009, when politburo member Basavraj [Namballa Keshava Rao] visited our area, he made some comments on other politburo members such as Kishenji. ‘He is not doing anything, not killing a single policeman, and giving statements’. As if killing police is the one and only job for a revolutionary.”

#### **No alternative policies**

“Yes, we have to fight against exploitation, but what is your special policy for a new democratic government in tribal areas? Your Janatana Sarkar is not the tribal autonomy body [nor is it] government by traditional tribal rules, even partially. You are destroying tribal culture for your selfishness. You have no alternative agricultural, industrial, medical and educational policies.”

#### **No democracy**

“Leaders think [of themselves] as masters and cadres have no courage to oppose the leaders' mistakes... The policy in practice is to suppress or eliminate the opposing voice by force, either inside the party or outside in society. In a meeting of the Basdhara and Ghumsar divisional committees, central committee member Bhaskar [alias Modem Balakrishna] in the presence of member Chetan suspended member

Chalapathi saying that “in a communist party, for faults of a party member, we may suspend, expel and if needed can kill him/her(marne ki saaja bhi de sakte). Even innocent people may be killed sometimes for revolution...

“Only yes-men and good boys/girls of leaders are promoted. In the name of promotion, a type of feudal democracy, similar to that of the fascist RSS, prevailed in this party.”

### **Rules & theories**

“Now it has become a common rule to issue blades to all boys and girls for shaving [their private parts]. Dandakaranya cadres have accepted this as a party rule, just like using only Lifebuoy and Rin soaps, Timex watches and Action shoes.... And it is also said that in the place for bathing, all should bathe without [wearing] clothes. What is the relation of a revolution to such stupid theories?

“...Oriya cadres are dissuaded from taking sugar in their food with the advice that it would cause diabetes. You can take as much mirchi and tamarind as you like, but are not allowed to mix sugar in your tamarind water, and you can't eat onion as a substitute... If we use Margo soap for squad members instead of Lifebuoy, central committee members such as Basavraj will comment on us.”

### **No accounting**

“Financial anarchy is a common trend in the party. AOB [Andhra-Orissa border] cadre Binoy accumulated money from various sources before he surrendered. In the party there is no fair accounting system. So many Dandakaranya cadres and main-force activists are expending money as per their wish and giving a round account... ‘Rs 10,000 we have done expenditures’. Bengal comrade Ashok did not give accounts of Rs 15 lakh. All these are symptoms of wrong trends that we are promoting from above.

### **Partiality**

“Our AOB leaders always tried to treat the Orissa committee as subordinates. They never want to develop one independent Orissa revolutionary struggle... Commanders of Dandakaranya and Andhra-Orissa Border are giving regular irrelevant interviews as they wish. In 2009, a resolution was adopted that without a decision I should not give any interview.”

### **Minority policy**

“As per the new theory of central committee members, Christianity is the main obstacle before building a revolutionary organisation. Central committee member Manoj said Christianity is an organised religion... and so for any organised revolutionary work it will become an obstacle... Left sectarian friends of AOB distributed a leaflet against Christianity in Srikakulam... Later, AOB cadres and squads who were Christian were removed from that area... When Christian people organised around us, politburo members such as Basabraj started advising us to write in circulars and pamphlets that ‘Christianity is not the solution to people's problems’.”

**Source :** <http://www.indianexpress.com/news/if-we-use-margo-instead-of-lifebuoy-they-will-comment/987854/0>

### **Other Accusations by Sabyasachi Panda**

In an audio message issued late on Sunday night the senior Maoist leader said the party's decision to expel him comes seven months after he and his supporters had severed all ties with it, and a month after he had announced the formation of a new outfit called the Odisha Maovadi Party (OMP).

The CPI-Maoist party had, in a four-page press release on Friday, announced the expulsion of Sabyasachi Panda for indulging in opportunism, anti-party activities and for being a 'renegade'. The 16-page letter,

addressed to the party general secretary Ganapathy, also dismissed the serious allegations brought by Panda against the party leadership.

In a 5-minute long audio message Panda has accused the party of following anti-tribal, anti-minorities and anti-people policies and condemned the party's growing dependence on the politics of eliminating individuals without any justifiable reasons. He has blamed a section of the party's leadership, especially those from the neighbouring Andhra Pradesh, for the 'degeneration' that has set in within the party. He has specifically named party's central committee member Modem Balkrishna alias Manoj for conspiring against him and trying to impose a number of unacceptable decisions on the Odisha party cadres.

"They have killed activists and workers from the SUCI, CITU, CPI-ML and even ordinary people without any justifiable reasons. I have been critical of their politics of murder and acts that spreads terror. We were not willing to play slaves to a party that denies internal democracy and works against the interests of the people," the audio message said.

Panda has also alleged that the Maoist leaders are collecting huge amount of money from corporates who are displacing the local people for their industries despite a party decision not to seek funds from such private operators. "It was the anti-people and sectarian politics of the party that had forced us to go for a rethink and we finally decided to move away from the party," he said in the message, adding he had decided to expose the wrongdoings in the party in November 2011 after he was placed under 'party arrest' for about three months on the basis of false charges by intolerant and narrow-minded leaders.

Panda has ruled out any possibility of any kind of armed conflict with the CPI-Maoist factions opposed to him and said he and his associates will continue with their work for the poor and oppressed people in Ganjam, Gajapati, Rayagada and Kandhamal districts where they have been serving the poor and oppressed people since 1995.

Panda has dismissed allegations that he had leaked the content of his long letter to the central committee members of the party and said the police had intercepted it while it was on its way from Kolkata to a jailed party leader.

In his message Panda has said the CPI-Maoist party is moving along a self-destructive path and that it would perish unless it reviews its anti-people policies, admits its mistakes and takes corrective action. "We would welcome it even if we are no longer a part of the party," he said.

Significantly, Sabyasachi Panda has not given any indication at all about the possibility of his surrender or return to mainstream politics, something that has been the subject of wide speculations ever since reports of his differences with top CPI-Maoists appeared in the media.

Source : <http://www.ndtv.com/article/india/expelled-maoist-leader-sabyasachi-panda-warns-party-leadership-through-audio-message-254152>